

THE Spokesman

THE VOICE OF THE MINORITIES

Editor : HUKAM SINGH, M. P.

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Governor's Rule Saved Congress in Punjab

Inviolability of Seals Proved Fraudulent Appointment of Impartial Commission Demanded To Go Into Election Irregularities

We are publishing below excerpts from the speech of Sardar Hukam Singh, President, Shromani Akali Dal, in Parliament on February 10, on Punjab Budget, 1952. [Spokesman]

The position as it stands is not a happy one. We cannot say that the State is carrying on satisfactorily. The financial surplus that has been shown is a manipulation of figures; otherwise it cannot be called a surplus budget.

My first submission is that the Central Government should see that this unhappy State, which has suffered the most among all the States of the Union, is aided by subsidies and grants and that they should not continue simply advance loans, because that State would not be able to recover from the distress from which it is suffering at present.

Then I take this scheme of Grow More Food, for which there is a provision of 63 lakhs for the next year. Of course there is an increase of 10 lakhs which is a welcome feature. It will be remembered that the old Punjab was the granary of the whole India and I can assure this House that even if it can serve the same purpose, provided this Grow More Food scheme is handled more tactfully and in a practical manner. Even now the Punjab can grow enough food and spare for other provinces but there should be greater aid under this scheme, which we have taken in hand. Particular attention should be given to consolidation of holdings and the sinking of percolation wells, because so far we have not diverted our attention in that direction. Other irrigation methods have been used but the small holder

or tiller wants ready remedy such as irrigation by well. Last year it was taken in hand but not on an extensive scale.

The loan/loans or subsidies should be given to the real grower of food and not to landlords who utilise them for other purposes. These financial loans or subsidies should be given rather in kind than in cash. If cash is given it is usually spent for other purposes than the purpose for which it is meant.

I would request that easy loans for development be made available to the real grower because it is not that he gets the aid; he is the real producer and not other persons who may also own some land. So far I can say that this Grow More Food campaign has created more in propaganda in the air than in practical working and production in the soil.

Capital at Chandigarh

I am now going to take up the expenditure on the capital at Chandigarh. I am afraid this is an experiment which this State could ill afford. It is remarked here that we have advanced very far now, I am sure my remarks will not be taken seriously and I know that Government is determined to go on with the work. It is also added here that the Planning Commission has approved of it. My fears are that this experiment would not prove successful and huge sums of money would be wasted as we have done in some other schemes as well. He did

not understand why the Punjab Government choose Simla as its head quarters and not Amritsar, Jalandhar or Ludhiana. If the capital of the Pakistani Punjab could be Lahore, only 15 or 16 miles from border, the capital of Indian Punjab could also be located at Amritsar. If the capital is located at Amritsar, it will engender more confidence among the people. It will create a good effect on the people and the economy of the province also.

Rehabilitation

The Government has not done so much as ought to have been done. This matter should not be thrown away simply by saying that the land cannot be extended. I say that the land is already there. I am told eighty lakhs acres of land are awaiting development just now. The country has got its freedom and Punjab has suffered, I should say Punjab had to pay the price. Why it should be that one portion—whether it be Punjab or Bengal—over the whole country enjoys the fruits of that freedom which we all value so much?

We cannot get anything out of Pakistan by our negotiations and through these treaties. We are not prepared to pay out of our own pockets, we are not prepared to tax our citizens. Then what is the remedy? Should these poor people alone be brought under distress? Should we say that because 80 per cent of the holdings in the country are uneconomical and we should change them, therefore this method of socialism should be applied first of all in these

poor displaced person because they are displaced from their hearths and homes? Is it the proper time when such an experiment should be applied to them?

Governor's Rule and Elections

"I was the first to welcome the Governor's rule, as I thought it will replace a corrupt ministry. I find that the Governor's rule has not proved a bane to the Punjab. My friend L. Ashoka Rao has remarked that whether it has brought good to the nation or not it has certainly saved the Congress. I certainly agree with him that the Governor's rule has saved the Congress and this automatically implies that it has damaged the other parties. How it has done that, I need not go into it here. (A hon. member: By suppressing other parties.) He spared the Governor himself."

I can only add that the recent elections have been won by the Congress only so far as the counting of the votes is concerned, otherwise it has lost the confidence of the people. All parties in India still repose their faith in the ballot box and still hold the same method to be the best saviour of democracy, but only an impartial commission can find out what has been done in Punjab and only such a commission can tear the veil from the things that have happened there. I cannot go into those details here. The inviolability of the paper seal has been proved to be fraudulent. There was no sanctity about it. I have got that most intact and

(Continued on page 21)

Britain's Policy in Far East Sant Ishar Singh's Remarkable Work in E. Africa

(By Dr. Parvul Spoor, Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge)

Has British policy recently changed in the Far East? This suggestion has been made and has provoked lively discussion in the British Parliament. It is therefore worthwhile considering the nature of the policy in the past as a prelude to judging whether it has now undergone a change.

In the first place, it should be remembered that the policy has been a bipartisan one, that is, one endorsed by both the major political parties. The present phase of British Far Eastern policy dates from the North Korean attack on South Korea in June 1950. Britain then supported the United Nations decision not only to denounce but also to resist aggression and she has backed her words by deeds in her contribution of men and materials. The American contribution has been by far the largest but the British is second.

The principle of co-operation within the United Nations in resisting aggression has been matched by the procedure of mutual consultation in making joint decisions about new issues as they arise. An example of this was Mr. Attlee's visit to Washington just over a year ago, and another instance, Mr. Churchill's recent visit to the United States. At first the question was, what was to be done in view of the Chinese intervention? Now the question is, what is to be done when the present armistice negotiations either succeed or fail?

It seems clear that one or the other of these things must happen at an early date, and whichever of the two becomes the event it will clearly create a new situation. It is vital to consider all the possibilities—even unpleasant ones.

Agreed Policy

A development in the policy of resisting North Korean aggression occurred when, on the defeat of the North Koreans themselves, the Chinese intervened in force in the guise of "volunteers". The British determination to resist, along with her colleagues in the United States, Chinese aggression in Korea without by "volunteers" or mercenaries has remained steadfast. Along with that determination has gone the resolution not to carry the war into China itself and again this has been an agreed policy of all the Governments concerned.

A further question has been the proper attitude towards Communism and the regime of Chiang Kai-shek there. It was agreed that the help of Chiang should not be accepted on the mainland but that Formosa should equally not be left to the mercy of a Communist attack. In Mr. Attlee's words, "the people under Chiang Kai-shek

should not be left to be assailed".

That policy has led to the armistice talks, and these talks have reached the point where they must shortly succeed or finally fail. Future action in either event must obviously be considered.

Sequel to Armistice

Further, if an armistice is actually concluded, the possibility which emerges must be explored. The armistice might become the basis of a permanent treaty and this would be the happiest result of all. Or it might be brought to an end and the war resumed. Or it might be violated and war restored without warning. This would clearly be the gravest development of all, but it is equally clearly the duty of everyone concerned to keep it in mind as a possible contingency.

The debate in the British Parliament, so early cut short by the King's death, proceeded far enough to demonstrate that the main outline of Korean policy still has the support of both parties. The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, has made it clear that no fresh commitments have been made in the event of a breakdown of an armistice or of failure to conclude one.

The form of the Opposition motion drawn up at the end of the debate shows that this is recognised. The attack has been transferred from the policy itself to the way in which the Prime Minister forwarded it in his recent address to the U.S. Congress. This is a matter of domestic discussion and can be left to the parties concerned. If a truce is agreed "only to be broken", consultation will take place as to the next step. Britain is not committed at this stage to any one course of action.

Position Clarified

The British method of discussing public affairs in Parliament allows free expressions of all points of view. This means that care is needed to distinguish

Sardar Nandor Singh writes from Nakuru, in East Africa that Sant Ishar Singh of Nakuru has been carrying in East Africa the torch lit by Guru Nanak. He has gone up and down East Africa since January, 1951, and has inspired and radiated infectious spiritual light wherever he has set his feet. We are told that he has recalled to the fold of Sikhism those of the Sikhs who had strayed from it, surcharged them anew with the light and life of Na'm which is the core of Sikhism. At Nakuru he stayed for three months and did the apostolic work with fervour and won the hearts and purified the souls of the crowds who flocked to him. An estimate of the deep and abiding affection and esteem of the Sikhs of Nakuru for Sant

ish between debating points made for the domestic audience and real cleavages of opinion on important issues. In the case of Korea, the declarations of the Government and the course of the discussion in Parliament have combined to make the position clear. British policy towards Korea remains unchanged, it continues to enjoy general support and no fresh or secret commitments have been made.

A different kind of care is needed in judging American opinion. In the U. S. A. opinion is not so much expressed in the course of public debate as by means of forthright statements in the press, over the radio, or on the platform. This process is more extensive and also more blunt and is, therefore, liable to be misunderstood.

But the two different methods of debate both in the end produce a consensus of opinion on great matters of State. We have the assurance of both the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden, both men familiar with American conditions, that a considered opinion exists in responsible quarters in favour of a Korean armistice on honourable terms and against extending the conflict by any belated action from the side of the United Nations.



Ishar Singh Ji would be evident from a passage of the farewell address presented to him. The words are truly touching.

"You have for about three months poured forth a life-giving stream of Kirtan and Gurbani, and thereby captured our hearts and gripped our souls. You brought with you the triple crown of Nam, Daa and Lohani, that is the Guru's way to be at-one with God and Man and the way of Self-purification. You have sung to us the sublime teachings of the Gurus and given us glimpses of the noble lives of the Gurus and thereby reclaimed those of us who had gone astray. Crowds have profited by your instruction. You have infused a new life into us by your administering the 'Baptism of the Sword'. Your abounding love has endeared you to us and we feel a wrench of pain on parting with you. We hope and pray that you will come back to us sometime again. May you live long to serve others".

Sant Ishar Singh was also presented with a robe of Honour by the Sikhs of Nakuru. The Sikhs overseas do need the services of people like Sant Ishar Singh Ji. Sikh missionaries—not self-seeking, money-minded women—must go overseas to re-kindle the flame of Sikhism and to serve as connecting links between Sikhs overseas and Sikhs at home.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

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*Freedom of expression is our birth-right
and we shall not rest until it is fully guaranteed
by the Constitution.*

HAPPY AUGURY

The manner in which the General Election was conducted and the way in which democracy was strangled in the Punjab by the Congress in conjunction with the official hierarchy is scandalously shameful.

Police hoolam, official patronage, Gandhi intimidation, economic sanctions, tampering with the ballot-boxes of the candidates of opposition parties, extraction of ballot-papers from their boxes to be later put in those of the Congress candidates to inflate theirs, and the misuse of unused ballot-papers on a gigantic scale will for ever be remembered as the blackest deeds of Congress that irreparably injured the healthy growth of democracy in our country.

We are, however, glad that the political parties and the people of the Punjab have not taken this challenge lying down. Though manoeuvred to be defeated in the elections, they have not been overwhelmed, by defeatism. The said episode has, on the other hand and rightly too, has whipped up the fury of the masses to the fever-heat and aroused the political parties from their complacency and slumber. They have, for the first time in the political history of the Punjab, stood up as one man to take up cudgels against the enemies of democracy.

At a Convention held recently at Jalandhar, and attended by the representatives, of the Akali Dal, Communist Party, Lal Communist Party, Bhartiya Jan Sangh, K.M.P.P. and Independents, it was unanimously demanded of the President of the Indian Republic that an impartial tribunal presided over by a Judge of a High Court and consisting of all the political parties be set up to investigate into the allegations of malpractices, bring the guilty officers to book and recommend remedies for the future.

We wholeheartedly support the demand of the Convention, for there is no other way to save, nurse and nurture the sappling of Indian democracy except through such a united and herculean effort of all democrats.

It is, also, the only way to explode the myth of democratic professions of the Congress which has tried to dupe, deceive and hoodwink the Indian people by its high-flown phrases, choicest verbiage and rosy promises.

We are, however, sorry to learn that the Punjab branch of the Socialist Party of India has thought it inadvisable to join this united front in spite of its strong condemnation of the malpractices indulged in and perpetrated by the party in power and its complete agreement on the issues involved and with the decisions reached at the Convention. It stand, therefore, seems to be not only inconsistent and illogical, but also another undeniable proof to the already current strong suspicion that the Socialist Party is only a branch of the Congress to disrupt, disseminate or neutralize the anti-Congress forces. Otherwise, what purpose will it serve if not to strengthen the hands of the Congress by its present refusal to demand a judicial inquiry into the alleged irregularities committed by the officers in accordance with the instructions of the Central Government? Could there be another example of such a shameful betrayal of people's cause by a party publicly wedded to the welfare of the people?

At the same time we do expect of the conveners and participants of the Convention to start a State-wide agitation to secure the implementation of their just, democratic and constitutional demand, and if need be to start *Satyagraha* to attain the cherished end. They should not forget the universally accepted axiom that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty". If they today feel reluctant to act as the watch-dogs of impatient Indian democracy, they shall be crushed tomorrow under the iron-heel of a totalitarian dictator when they would have themselves called to life. This will, thus, not only destroy individual liberty so essential for national progress but also seal the fate of coming generations who will be reared up to a suffocating and choking political atmosphere. The hands of the clock will be moved back and India will be once again thrown into the accursed lap of medieval barbarism.

Our only advice to our compatriots is to unitedly act to save the kernel of democracy in India from being smothered down. Will they heed it?

Ever since the Renaissance, when ethics and politics got separated, Machiavellianism has been the all-pervading force in world politics. The maxim—bigger the lie the better—has been followed with such fidelity that now it has not only become rather difficult but regarded as gross foolishness to look out for truth in the statements of politicians.

This contagious disease has, of late, even claimed Pt. Nehru as its victim, who in spite of his protestations for and glorification of the pseudo-ethical Gandhism, has taken refuge behind wilful and blatant lies to defame and defeat his opponents.

In a statement, Pt. Nehru has accused Shriomani Akali Dal of accepting the Partition of the country. He has made this misleading and mischievous statement with the full knowledge that Master Tara Singh, the leader of this and the only political organization of the Sikhs, had unequivocally condemned and categorically rejected the Partition Plan.

Moreover, did not the Akali Dal raise a storm of protest against Rajaji formula, which implicitly accepted the Pakistan demand? Was not the Akali Dal the first political organization to warn the Hindus and Sikhs that the Congress would accept the Muslim League demand if and when the occasion arose? And did not the Congress accept the basic principle underlying the Paltan demand when while rejecting the Group Proposals, it clearly stated that the Congress would not like to keep any part of India within the proposed Indian Union against its wishes and clearly expressed verdict.

The position of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal has now been vindicated by Shri Krishna Kumar, Special Correspondent of the *Midday*, Delhi, who can never be credited with any partisan spirit in favour of the Sikhs.

It was only at a time when the Partition of the country seemed in the offing that the Akali Dal demanded or agitated for the division of the Punjab. But that was done only to save the Hindus and Sikhs from the tyranny of Moslem communalism.

Can any one except those whose plan to hand over the entire Punjab and Bengal, was foiled access or condemn the Akali Dal for demanding the division of these two provinces?

Isn't it, therefore, unjust and blasphemous to accuse the Akali Dal of accepting the Partition Plan? Isn't it a blatant lie? And could any one,

except the brown Machiavelli in a Khaddar jacket, be capable of this great performance?

In spite of the fact that we, too, regard the game of politics as sordid, yet we would not like that the politicians should stoop so low as to throw overboard all ethical and moral code to enjoy some transient and temporary gains, and provide justification for Johnson's cynical remark that "politics is the last resort of scoundrels."

Pepsu Ministerial Tangle

The *Mahasha* Press, as usual, has started publishing special dispatches regarding the ministry-making in Pepsu. They are not only misleading but positively mischievous. When S. Gian Singh Rawala went to see Pt. Nehru on latter's request, it was distorted into former's request to Pt. Nehru to somehow or other accommodate the Akalis into the new ministry, and the story became current regarding the disintegration of the Akali Party due to factional strife.

While contradicting all these subtle insinuations pregnant with gross mischief, we categorically state that we are prepared to form coalition with any party, the only condition being the acceptance of the demand for a Punjabi Speaking Province and an impartial judicial inquiry into the complaints of alleged ugly practices indulged in by the official hierarchy.

No transitory gains or local considerations would be allowed to stand in the way, for that would be the worst type of opportunism not in tune with Sikh traditions.

But before the new ministry is formed, it is incumbent on the Rajprasaad to dismiss the present Congress ministry not only because two of its ministers have been defeated in the recent elections, but *insomuch* even his security, but, also, because the party as a whole has failed to win a majority in the State Legislature.

While Pt. Nehru professes to follow the traditions and conventions of the English democracy, he seems to purposely gloss over those facts which are inconvenient and shatter his dream of dictatorial rule. Should not he have otherwise ordered his nominated Pepsu ministers to tender their resignations the day they were voted out of office, as Atlee had done the moment he knew that his party was lagging behind the Tories? Is not the continuance of the nominated Pepsu ministry undemocratic, immoral and unjust?

Does not, therefore, the democratic pretensions of Pt. Nehru sound rather strange when

he keeps an office as a representative and autocratic ministry to stifle the voice of democracy in the State?

We, therefore, request all anti-Congress parties to form a united front and agitate for the immediate dismissal of the Ministry so that it may not be able to hold out tomorrow's office and go to the detached members, and corrupt them with its overriding influence. Will they?

Police Highhandedness

Everything in India has changed for the worst, and demands immediate improvement. The Police, however, have beaten even its own past record of maltreatment of the respectable classes ever since the blessed dawn of independence.

On February 18, S. Satindra Singh M. A., Editor-in-charge of our paper, was viciously abused, threatened to be hounded and lodged in the *Manila* (Judicial lock up) by Shree Jaginder Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, in-charge of the Kashmiri Gate Police Station, and but for the timely intervention of Shree Bhadrwal, Special Correspondent of the *Daily Vir Bharat*, Delhi, who happened to know the Sub-Inspector, the situation might have deteriorated beyond redemption.

The facts of the case are that 4 buses on Route No. 4, were missing and the queue at the Kashmiri Gate bus stand was longer than usual. At last a bus came at 9 p.m. The conductor took 10 passengers with four already standing. S. Satindra Singh asked the conductor to take either only 12 standing passengers, thus avoiding overloading or take him too, he being the only passenger left out of the bus. The conductor, Shree Talla Ram refused that, but the very next moment he took another Sikh gentleman, Shree Ragbir Singh, an A.T.S. in the D.T.S. When S. Satindra Singh protested, the conductor told him that it was entirely his discretion whether to take or leave out any passenger as it was he who was to pay the fine for overloading it and when challenged. Thereupon, S. Satindra Singh got into the bus and when the conductor asked him to get down, he told him that he would get down if the conductor would give him the complaint book, which he refused.

(The complaint book was, however, given only at the Police Station at the unanimous demand of all the passengers and S. Satindra Singh recorded his complaint.)

When S. Satindra Singh told the conductor that he could not reject his legitimate demand, Shree Ragbir Singh, in his typically bureaucratic manner told him that he could do what ever he liked and asked the conductor to take the bus to the Police Station. The conductor mistakenly obeyed his order.

When the bus reached the Police Station, the conductor went in and came out with the

said Shree Jaginder Singh, Sub-Inspector. The latter asked the conductor who was the Sikh creating all this fuss and when he pointed out S. Satindra Singh, he threatened to arrest him and asked one of the foot constables to bring the handcuffs.

When S. Satindra Singh requested him to listen to his side of the story, the said Sub-Inspector showered a volley of vulgar abuses which every decent person would loathe to hear. Thereupon, Mr. Bhadrwal, intervened and asked Shree Jaginder Singh not to lose his temper in this manner because it does not behove an officer of a democratic State.

Seeing the awkward position in which he had landed himself, Shree Jaginder Singh asked the conductor to lodge an F.I.R. with the Police and ordered S. Satindra Singh to accompany him inside the Police Station. While Shree Talla Ram's report was duly recorded, S. Satindra Singh's request for the same regarding the misbehaviour of S. Jaginder Singh was scorned at and unceremoniously rejected. He was, however, allowed to go home only at the personal request of Shree Bhadrwal.

It may, also, be stated here that Shree Jaginder Singh was drunk while on duty on that night.

If this is the treatment meted out to a respectable citizen and a prominent journalist, we shudder at the very thought of the lot of the ordinary people at the hands of such wooden-headed autocrats.

We request the Inspector General of Police, Delhi State, and the Senior Superintendent of Police, Delhi, to take prompt action against Shree Jaginder Singh, for any complacency on their part in this regard would be taken as their tacit approval of such malpractices.

Murders of Mother tongue

Mahasha Ranbir has written an article on "Urdu in Pakistan" in which he has expressed his opinion regarding Panjabi also. He writes: "If the Muslim League had aroused anti-Urdu feelings in India by claiming it as the language of the Muslims, it has failed to make it the *Lingua Franca* of Pakistan. The fact of the matter is that if and when an effort is made to make any language or dialect the closed preserve of any religious or racial minority, its decline sets in. In the Punjab, too, some Sikh leaders have begun using the Panjabi language as a subterfuge to get their political demands accepted. The result is that the Hindu have started deadly opposing and actively downgrading the Panjabi language in Punjab itself. Though I feel that this opposition is wrong, yet we cannot fail to appreciate the sound reasons that have reared it into life. When any section of the people wants to make any language as their own parental preserve, other sections or communities cannot but become its mortal enemies."

In the end he warns: "The

Punjabi will meet the same fate that Urdu has met already—a homeless and homeless language, condemned to decay and death."

We cannot but admire Shree Ranbir's courage in misrepresenting the stand of the Sikhs. From the very beginning, while claiming for Panjabi the position of the State language in the Punjab, they have never denied Hindi the status of the national language. They have, also, never claimed monopoly of Panjabi but have always stressed and accepted the position that it was the product of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims alike.

It is the Hindus who have carried on a campaign of misrepresentation against the Panjabi. Some time back they used to say that it was not a language but a mere dialect. Then they began denying it as their mother-tongue and gave Hindi that elevated status.

Now, in the face of these facts who is communal? Who is downgrading the mother-tongue, Panjabi, and trying to force Hindi on the people due to communal considerations? Must not the manner in which they have rode rough shod on Urdu in the Punjab an added proof of their chauvinistic mind? Who are the murderers of the mother-tongue? Who are doing all in their power to misrepresent the Sikh demand, poison the minds of the Hindus, create cleavage between the two communities so that they may not unite and fight for their amelioration and betterment, thus threatening the rule of the reactionary Congress?

We do expect that Shree Ranbir would care to give some thought and time to these queries in the calmer moments of his life when he would himself find that he has been looking at the Panjabi-Hindi issue from the wrong end of the telescope for all these years.

The Diabolical Plan

It is a well-known technique of the reactionaries parties and Governments of the world to incite pogroms against the Jews, Negroes and other backward people, who are becoming politically conscious, in order to deny their legitimate rights by arousing of the base feelings and animal instincts amongst their co-religionists, compatriots or nationalists.

Mahasha Harbans Lal, President Punjab State Congress, true to his role, has tried to play the old and ugly game. In a statement to the press, he says: "I have received many reports from the rural areas alleging that the members of the backward classes who voted for or helped the Congress in the recent elections are being mal-treated and threatened with dire consequences. This is a very grave issue which cannot be easily ignored. I demand of the Government to take prompt action against the malcontents, because now that these people have been granted equal rights by our sacred Constitution, it is not within the right or privilege of any section

of our people to maltreat them." In the end he has assured the Harijans that, the Congress, which has all along been working for their uplift, would continue the sacred task and stand by them through thick and thin.

This rosy of ingenious lies has been fabricated to drive a wedge between the Sikhs and Harijans of Punjab who have jointly suffered and conjointly worked and defeated the Congress in the recent elections. This malicious campaign of vilification against the Sikhs has been purposely engineered to win back the Harijans to prolong its autocratic rule. It is only the continuation of the old imperialist policy of divide and rule.

But if we go deep into the matter the boot seems to be on the other leg. It is an open secret that the Congress used violence or threats of "dire consequences" to gag the voices of these God-forsaken and man-made destitutes during the elections. Isn't it also a notorious fact that the Government machinery actively helped or silently connived at them? In view of these facts Mahasha Harbans Lal's statement is no more than a clever manoeuvre to put the general public on the wrong track.

It does not behove any political leader, but more especially to one, who professes to stand by secular democracy and nationalism to invent lies and thus create an unbridgeable gulf between various communities or sections of Indian people. It might help him to secure some selfish gains but will not be conducive to the healthy growth of Indian nationalism which is already smothering under the evil heritage of the British rule.

We, also, strongly deny his pompous assertion that the Congress has always stood for the amelioration of the lot of the Harijans. Did not the Congress reject the demand of the Shramani Akali Dal to grant them special privileges for a period of 80 years instead of for 10 only as at present? Can any social worker, even in his wildest speculation, take to clear away the debris of the age-old social legacy of caste-discrimination in such a short period? Or can this social revolution be wrought by legal enactments only?

While warning our Harijan brethren against the diabolical plan of the Congress funds to separate them from their Sikh co-sufferers, we assure these mischievous-mongers that their nefarious efforts are foredoomed to failure.

We, also, demand of the Government to suppress this uncalculated, provocative and baseless campaign of class Mahasha against the Sikhs if they are really anxious to maintain "peace, order, tranquillity and stability" of the Indian State or should we take it to mean that all the repressive and preventive measures are to be used

(Contd. on page 11)

Patiala Elections: A Review

(By S. Jitar Singh Gill, B. A., LL. B., *Reporter*)

The elections are over in Pepsu. The Congress Party made its best to capture as many seats as it could. Various underhand means were used to obtain this object. One feels astounded that the Congress Party which took its birth in Pepsu in the latter half of 1948, and was considered to be corrupt and depraved, got 28 seats in the State Legislature.

In no other country can one get such an example of the "popularity" of a political party. And certainly in no foreign country such enemies of the people are amongst the chosen representatives—brutal tyrant Col. Ragbir Singh or a convicted criminal like Giani Zail Singh. One might not have also come across people like the Mahashas who are destined to reach an important minority of India but one can peep through the window and see British Rlan oppress the voice of the people in Pepsu—the Sikh Homeland.

How Congress became "popular" in Pepsu? We feel ashamed to disclose the fact that four ministers imposed on Pepsu are responsible for the achievement of this fact of "popularity". In spite of the agitation made by the people of Pepsu, four unpopular ministries were taken on them to honour the Congress Party, which was never allowed to enter the border of the erstwhile States on this side of Jammu. The apologists of the Congress say that it is very popular among the people of the State but these elections have blown this purpose assertion sky-high. In spite of the best efforts of the power-drunk Congressites, they could not get a bare majority in the State legislature. This becomes all the more clear if we take the electoral results district by district for the State. The State is clearly divided, into two distinct parts—the Punjabi speaking and the Hindi-speaking areas.

Following are the number of constituencies in the various districts of Pepsu.

1. Distt. Bhainda 12 seats.
2. Distt. Sangrur 11 seats.
3. Distt. Patiala 7 seats.
4. Distt. Kandaghat 4 seats.
5. Distt. Fatehgarh Sahib 4 seats.
6. Distt. Kapurthala 5 seats.
7. Distt. Mohinder Garh 8 seats.
8. Distt. Barnala 9 seats.

The Akali Dal did not contest a number of seats from amongst the above mentioned constituencies.

1. In Distt. Mohinder Garh all the 8 seats were not contested.
2. In Distt. Sangrur only 5 seats were contested out of 11 seats. The names of the constituencies contested in this district were: Sangrur, Sonam, Lehra and Bhawanigarh.

2. In Distt. Kandaghat only 3 seats were contested.

It means that in the House of 60, the Akali Dal contested only 44 seats including the seat of Malerkotla, where the Nawab was supported.

In district Bhainda, out of 12 constituencies contested by various parties, 10 seats were captured by the Akalis, 1 by an independent and the other two were taken by the Congress candidates. Among the two seats captured by the Congress in the district, one was taken by Mahan Des Raj, a dummy minister from Bhainda-Maharaja constituency and the other went to the share of Harbans Lal from Valmankia constituency, although these two Congressites are so "popular" that they cannot hold a meeting even in their respective constituencies.

In Barnala district, out of 9 constituencies contested, the Akalis succeeded in getting 5 seats. One went to a Communist and the remaining three were captured by the Congress. Shree Sampuran Singh Dhalla and Mahashir Tirath Singh, the two Pepsu Ministers, were the two successful candidates among the three seats captured by the Congress.

In district Fatehgarh Sahib out of the 4 seats contested, three went to the Akalis and one was captured by a Congressite from Sirhind constituency, where Col. Ragbir Singh's right hand man was made successful by defeating an Akali candidate.

In district Patiala, out of 7 seats contested, the Akalis got three seats and Congress got 4 seats among which included the seat of Col. Ragbir Singh, Chief Minister.

In district Kandaghat, out of four seats, one went to Akali candidate, one was captured by an independent and the other two were taken by the Congress nominees, including S. Harbans Singh, Deputy Minister.

In district Kapurthala out of five seats, one was secured by an Akali, the other by a Communist and the remaining three by the Congress.

In district Sangrur out of 11 seats, the Akali contested only five seats and captured three seats and lost the other two—one to Mahashir Brish Bhan and the other to Com. Bachan Singh, a Communist, who secured only 115 votes more than the Akali candidate.

In this constituency, the Congress candidate secured 533 votes out of the 13,587 total votes polled and lost her deposit even. About the other seat which has been captured by Brish Bhan, even the democracy-loving Congressites feel ashamed at the misdeeds done to elect this Mahasha.

About the remaining 8 seats, five were bagged by the Congress and one by KMPP candidate.

In district Bhadargarb, a purely Hindi-speaking area, out of the 8 seats, four seats were contested by the Akali candidates. 4 Congress candidates have been elected, 2 Jan. Sangh and 2 Independents were elected to the State legislature.

It is, therefore, quite clear that in the Hindi-speaking area, the position of the various parties stands like this: For Mohinder Garh district plus a part of Bhadrarg district and a part of Kandaghat district, there are 18 seats in the State Legislature. Out of these 18 seats, the Congress succeeded in capturing 10 seats, the Jan Sangh 2, Communist 1, Independent 1 and KMPP 1. It means that in Hindi-speaking area Congress got 10 seats out of 18.

Let us turn to Punjabi-speaking area and assess the popularity of the Congress and the other parties. There are 44 seats in this part of the Union. The Akali Dal contested all these seats and succeeded in bagging 24 seats in spite of the foul play staged by the Congress Ministry headed by the great "Nationalist" Pt. Nehru.

In Bhainda district, the Akalis scored 8 seats out of the total strength of eleven and one was put to the share of S. Harbans Singh, an independent candidate. The other two seats went to the Congress. The salient feature of the elections in this district is that Giani Zail Singh, a Panthic megastar was defeated by an Akali candidate by a margin of 7,041 votes. Harbans Lal, Pepsu Congress President and S. Ranjit Singh were the two Congress candidates who were made successful by hook or crook. Anyhow, Congress realised her worth in Bhainda district and the Akali Dal won great victories.

In Barnala district, 5 Akalis were declared successful. S. Gurdial Singh Dhillon, S. Hira Singh Bhattal, S. Kartar Singh Diwana, S. Dhanu Singh Gulshra and the Nawab of Malerkotla were the big guns of the Akali Dal who entered the Pepsu State Legislature with flying colours. S. Arjan Singh, a Communist candidate, was the sixth elected member. The remaining three seats were taken by the Congress. Among them are included, the Education Minister Mahashir Tirath Singh, who got 614 votes more than the Akali candidate, S. Sampuran Singh Dhalla and Dr. Ragbir Parkash. Here even the engineered popularity of the Congress looks rather pale.

In Fatehgarh district out of the 4 seats, the Akalis got 3 seats, won by S. Gurdial Singh Advani.

and S. Gian Singh Rarewala and S. Arjan Singh. The 4th seat was captured by S. Balwant Singh, a Congress candidate.

In Kapurthala district, out of the 5 seats, three went to the Congress by unfair means and one went to an Akali leader S. Atma Singh and the other to a Communist.

In Sangrur district the Akalis contested 5 seats and got 3 seats. The remaining two were equally shared by the Communist and the Congress. Here too, Mahashir Brish Bhan used unfair means, valuated about 5,000 ballot papers out of the ballot-boxes of Jathedar Pritham Singh Gajran to inflate his vote.

In Patiala district and the Kandaghat district, which form the Punjabi-speaking area, there are 10 seats out of which 4 were won by the Akalis, 1 went to an Independent and 5 went to the Congress. One of these seats went to Col. Ragbir Singh, the most "popular" scowder of Congress.

In this way, the Congress got 16 seats out of 44 and the Akalis captured 24 whereas the remaining five were shared by the Independents and the Communists.

Examining the whole situation one inevitably comes to the conclusion that the Akali Dal has a great hold in the Punjabi-speaking area.

As stated above the Patiala Union comprises of the Punjabi-speaking and the Hindi-speaking areas. The Sikhs form 65% of the entire population in Pepsu. If we strike out the Hindi-speaking area, the Sikhs are about 75%.

More than 80% of the Sikhs are with the Akali Dal, that is why, the Akalis got 23 seats in the State Legislature, while the Congress could not get more than 16 seats in this part of the State in spite of all the unfair means that it could use to trample over the wishes of the people, though its attempts were frustrated, for it could not get a majority in the legislature.

Will the States Ministry now dissolve this present unpopular Ministry, when the sentence of death has been passed by the people of the State in the General Elections held recently? Will it ask the Dummy Ministers to resign from their offices in the name of democracy, especially when Giani Zail Singh and Roshan Lal have been defeated?

If the States Ministry does not come forward then the people will be fully justified to start a peaceful agitation so that the Dummy Ministry may be dissolved at the earliest. The Congress dictators should feel the pulse of the nation and should not foolishly and stubbornly stick to the offices when the people have voted against them. Will the wise counsels prevail on them?

THE IDEA OF THE PA

There is so much talk of the *Panth* among and about the Sikhs these days that it will be useful to explain the institution of the *Panth*, as originally conceived and practised and as gradually modified in the course of time.

The Sikh institutions, including that of *Gurmukh*, having been founded in the days when the Sikhs were rebels, do not contemplate or recognize the existence of a ruling power. The first loyalty of a Sikh is due to the Guru, who is conceived of as a divine power, impersonal, indivisible and continuous, which controls and guides the disciple's whole life, individual as well as corporate, secular as well as religious. The power was transferred by the last Guru, Guru Govind Singh, to his followers called the *Khanda* or the *Panth*, who stood out as an embodiment of the Guru.

"The Akhais," says the Guru, "is my other ego, my other self, in him I live and have my being". The Guru enjoined upon the Sikhs to organise themselves as the *Khanda*, with a definite code of conduct laid down in formulae called *Rehens*.

They were to elect five loved ones from among themselves for any executive work, and he promised to be present among them. The whole congregation of the Sikhs was called the *Sarkar Khanda*, in whose name all prayers were offered and all public decisions made.

Questions of Franchise Interest were discussed in the plenary session at the Akal Takht, Amritsar, to which all Sikhs had access. Such meetings were held twice a year, at the Baisakhi and the Diwali festivals. Questions of local interest were discussed in local meetings, called *Sangats* which existed everywhere. Even ordinary branches of the *rajs* or *chancels* were punished in such representative meetings, and no person, however highly placed, was above their jurisdiction.

Even Gurm Govind Singh was once fined Rs. 125 for lowering his arrow to salute before the tomb of a saint, a thing which he had done to test the discernment of his followers. The resolutions passed were called *Gurmattas*.

The number of Sikhs being small—more than a few thousand—all were entitled to come and join the Sarbat Khanda meeting. When the numbers became unwieldy, the Pasai was divided into twelve *Mandals*, which met at the Akal Takht under their own leaders to discuss their political as well as religious problems and to decide on peace or war.

This continued upto 1869, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh abolished the custom of building a Gurmatia for political purposes and began to take action on the advice of non-Sikh as well as Sikh counsellors. This was a definite departure from the old practice in view of the change

that had come over the Indian
outlook.

There was a time when Moslems regarded themselves as foreigners and Hindus were down-trodden and looked upon as no-bodies in political sphere. The Sikhs alone were the true nationals, and were right in proclaiming that "the *Khalifa* shall rule" (*Wai Karaga Khalsa*).

When Ranjit Singh came to the throne he wanted to merge Hindus and Muslims feel that they were as much the people of the land as Sikhs and had the same right to be consulted as his own contemporaries. He, therefore, abolished the rule of the Akal Takhi so far as political affairs were concerned, and began to take the advice of the ministers drawn from the ranks of all communities.

The *Emmalla* of the Akal Takht had, therefore, no place in such a secular scheme. It would have put a great strain on the loyalty of his Hindu and Muslim subjects, if he had still tried to rule over them by the religious edicts issued from the Mecca of the Sikhs.

After the abolition of the political *Shinbetsu* religious *Seiwaku* was allowed to continue, but as the occasion on which it had to be used grew rare and public spirit being dead, it fell into the hands of illiterate bores or irresponsible mountebanks of scampers who made it degenerate out of all recognition.

Still the idea never died out. Now and then it came out to a flare among the Nihangs and other remnants of the old order. Once an Englishman, in the days of Sikh decadence, found an old Sikh talking too frequently of the *Panth*. He asked him, "What is the *Panth*?" The old man—like most of its today—did not know what to say. He fumbled with his sword and replied, "Oh, the *Panth*, the *Panth*, the *Panth*?" And with each ejaculation his face grew redder and redder and his eyes dashed fire.

The Englishman cried, "Oh, yes, yes, I understand now what Faith means. It means the gathering in one man or one body of men of all the strength and dignity of the nation, its fervour of faith, its tribulations, its sufferings and determination to do or die."

With the coming of the British there came education and knowledge of western institutions which was needed most by the Sikhs, whose religion out of all Indian religions, is institutional. The rulers knew this more than the Sikhs did, and they took over control of the main central institutions like the Akal Takht, the Golden Temple and later on the Khalsa College of Amritsar.

The Sikhs began to form *Dinns* or associations to take a hands the work of education and social reform. Owing, how-

over, to the instinctive self-serviceness in the Sixths and the lack of wholesale awakening among them, which could be possible only with mass education: no one association was able to take the central place among them.

The sufferings of six years (1921 to 1926), however, welded them together as nothing else had done before and in matters of religion they learnt to obey one central body called the S. G. P. C. (Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee).

Under its leadership they freed not only the central temples but also hundreds of other temples from the irresponsible control of *Makams* and brought them under the management of freely elected bodies of their own.

In this struggle they had many clashes with the Government which stood on the side of the *Mahans* to maintain their *status quo*. They learnt through sufferings how to resist tyranny as their fellow-countrymen were doing in the field of politics.

Some of these triumphs were hailed by the Indian National Congress and its leaders like Abanindranath Ghosh as so many instances of Swaraj. In fact, the Akalis (and the Sikhs engaged in temple-satyagraha) were called were working as allies of the Congress, going to jail sometimes for the national cause and sometimes for the religious. Their campaigns were conducted by the G.G.P.C., but the volunteer corps, which actually offered satyagraha, were organised by the Shiromani Akali Dal.

When by the passing of the Gurdwaras Act in 1925 the S. G. P. C. had to confine its activities to the management of Gurdwaras, the whole work of Khanda activity in the political domain came to be centred in the Shiromani Akali Dal. All the elections for S. G. P. C. and the legislatures were run by the Dal, which came to occupy the central authority of the Punjab.

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The political convicts in Hazratganj jail, 23 all-tell, were ordered to be transferred from there to different jails, i. e. some were to be confined in Rajmundry jail, some in Madras jail, some in Bhubaneswar jail, others in Tezpur, Vellore and Coimbatore jails. This is as Bhai Randhir Singh relates the journey :—

"As we emerged from the Hazaribagh jail, all the jail officials, wardens, guards, the families of all jail officials, a few hundred military men and their families had assembled to have a last look at us.

"Entered the Arzosa. It was an outpouring of the heart. There was dead silence and as I concluded the Arzosa, all eyes were wet. There were five full-throated shouts of *Sin Sini Akal* and then we boarded the lorries while Gurkha soldiers and scores of other military people stood with pointed bayonets. A European Inspector of Police was in-charge of all the convicts.

"There was political ferment in the country" and Mrs. Sarla Devi Chowdhrazi had organized a mammoth political meeting along the road in Hazari Ragh, part which our lorries were to move. Some adventurous people had planned to stop our lorries and stage a demonstration in honour of the patriotic convicts.

"The C. I. D., however, had sensed things and so they conducted us by a circuitous route in order to avoid the venue of the meeting. Thus the plans of the venturesome people of Hazaribagh were thwarted.

*Enroute we passed by 1

(B; S. Dahoon St.)
village and the love of the
good-will was over-whelming.
Some pressed purses in as which
we would not accept and yet
they pressed and pressed and
would not take 'No' from us.

"Then we reached Hissiribagh
Railway Station.

"In order to sit in the train which was to carry us to our destination, we had to go over an overbridge and as we climbed up the stairs we were fervently and lustily singing hymns and when we reached the carriage reserved for us we found that there was no lavatory in the carriage. We, therefore, refused to go in, till there were necessary arrangements made for us to answer the call of nature.

"There was an exchange of arguments with a fair degree of heat on one part. The rail officials and the Railway officials were all in a fix. The Inspector of Police cut the gordian knot for us by giving us his word of honour that he would permit us to go out to answer the call of nature on the platform of any station wherever we so desired. The train started.

"At all the stations in the way there were crowds full of patriotic fervour to receive us. A great change had come over the country. A strong wave of nationalism was surging through the land, the crowds who thronged to receive us at the stations received us with piles of wheat, fruits and purses. Purses we would not accept.

"In 1917, when we were transferred from Multan to Hazaribagh jail no Sikh had the

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PANTH IN PRACTICE

(Teja Singh Patiala).

disident voices heard from the platforms of the Namdhari Sikhs, Ch. Khalsa Divan and others. In time of political emergency when largest possible support was required in putting forward Sikh claims, a more composite body, called the Panthic Board was organised in which the Akalis allowed representatives of other sections also to be associated with themselves.

When the political turmoil of 1947 resulted in division of India, and the community was face to face with a terrible holocaust from Pakistan, the Akali Dal and the Panthic Board receded into the background and the Panthic Durbar, under the leadership of Maharaja of Patiala came into existence. It had, however, to limit politics from its scope in order not to antagonise the Akali Dal. It was an emergency body, and when the emergency was over, it ceased to exist. Then followed a period of personal leadership, when

groups gathered round certain personalities, and nobody could say with certainty which body was authorised to speak for the Panth.

Another difficulty has arisen recently before the Panthic bodies. By the new Constitution, passed in November 1949, India has been declared a secular State, and the Government's policy is not to allow any communal body to indulge in politics. This affects the very existence of the Panth, which by its fundamental constitution does not contemplate the existence of any body superior to it. During the last 300 years in which their institutions have grown and developed, the Sikhs have seldom had any chance of working in co-operation with any government other than their own. It is only in the British period that they had occasion to serve under the government. But then they had no political consciousness. As soon as this consciousness came, and their Panthic institutions grew in their full stature, there came again the old conflict.

The Sikhs have to face the fact boldly that if they insist on retaining the Panthic organizations on strictly original lines, it must clash with the government of the land or for that matter, with any other organization that is not Sikh. For each Sikh, having personal relation with the Panth as Guru, must in all cases give his first obedience to it. Therefore, whenever there is a difference with any body other than the Panth, there is no possibility of compromising the Panth, as it would be lowering the flag of Guru Gurmukh Singh.

This gives strength and makes the Sikhs unbending under the stress of greatest suffering, but it also obliges them to be unyielding when their collective will expressed in the form of Gurmukh is opposed to another will.

This is all right in religion, which admits of no conscious compromises with outsiders, because those will have to deal with doctrines and dogmas which are exclusive and fixed for ever; but in politics, where things are not absolutely sectarian but have to be shared in common with others and where co-operation of other communities is essential, an uncompromising attitude does not always succeed, and has often to be modified to suit the view-point of others. But a Panthic Gurmukh is Gurmukh, and having once received the sanction of the Guru Panth admits of no give-and-take from any non-Sikh power.

The best way out of the difficulty would be to modify the idea of the Panth in practice in the light of the changed circumstances (as was done under Ranjit Singh) and to confine the work of the Panthic bodies to those matters only which concern the Sikhs alone. Changed circumstances justify this change.

In the first place, our political outlook has radically changed since when our foundations of the Panth were laid. In those days the Government was foreign, and the Khalsa was pitted against it as an independent body. God above and the Khalsa below, with no earthly power to intervene. Now the Government is Indian, and even the staunchest Sikh is in favour of a secular *Sarraj*, which means the rule not of Sikhs alone, but of all Indians—Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Sikhs.

In those days the country could belong to one party only, either Sikh, or Hindu, or Moslem; but now patriotism has changed its meaning, and has come to include love for the rights of other communities besides our own. Many questions which were supposed to belong exclusively to the Sikh community

are now of equal concern to other communities as well, and have therefore passed out of the jurisdiction of the Panth. The question of the Panjabi language, for example, which the Sikhs had made a particular concern of their own, must now pass on to some society representing all communities of the Panjab.

This change in the Panthic outlook, however, depends entirely on another factor, which is not in the power of the Panth to control. It is that the Government of the land must be truly secular and strictly neutral in the matters of religion.

If the Government instead of cherishing all cultures of the land as Indian begins to identify itself with any one party's culture, it will be driving the supporters of the neglected cultures to organize their own resources, as is being done in the case of Sikhs.

The Sikhs are ready to share their sympathies for Panjab with all those who call themselves Panjabis, but when they alone are left to espouse its cause, shall they leave this cause because others have left it?

In secular India Nankana Sahib should have been as much the concern of the total population as of the Sikh community, but if the Sikhs alone are left to cry up their feelings of separation from their dear shrine, is it their fault?

If the Government wants to drive out all separatist feelings from the minds of people, it should stand out as the defender of all things dear and sacred to all communities.

Let Panjab be as dear to the Government of India as any other language, and let it feel as strongly for the loss of Gurdwaras as the Sikhs feel. Then the Sikhs will have no cause to fight separately for these things dear to them.

They will say, Nehru thinks as much of Panja Sahib as for Somnath, and of Sikhs as much as of Hindus; why should they organise themselves away from him? He is theirs as much as he is of anyone else. But is it really so?

As long as it is not so, and the Sikhs alone are left to feel and fight for their interests, there will be need for the Sikhs to organize some body away from the Government. Who but some Panthic association, like the Akali Dal, or the S. E. P. C., will be able to understand or represent the cases of Gurdwaras at Patna or in Hyderabad? And if hard be, who but these bodies will be ready to protest or fight for the rights of Sikhs to control these places?

Can anybody prevent these bodies from taking action, because somebody chooses to call such action political? Is it not

British Jail

(Singh M. A. Delhi)

to draw near us at the Railway Stations and now in 1931 there was a turn of the tide and there was a surging wave of patriotic fervour from end to end of the country. We reached Khazipur Railway Station and we found a mammoth crowd awaiting us on the Railway platform these were about 6,000 Sikh workmen in Railway workshop. All of them were there with their entire families. In a political meeting, held earlier in Khazipur town, the Sikhs had announced our arrival and consequently the whole town stirred on the platform.

"We alighted from the carriage and were surrounded by a forest of heads and a surging sea of our admirers. The Inspector, who was our custodian, felt nervous and came to me, beseeching me to remember that he should come to harm through the arrival of any one of us, whose custodian he happened to be. I assured him that he need not worry on our account.

"At the Railway Station we were welcomed and lionised, but the Inspector could get nothing either for cash or for the asking, for no vendor, no hawkers, no shopkeepers was in a mood to give him anything, for cash or for love. He came to me and told me of his sad plight. I obliged him and he had his fill of the good things which had been lavished on us by the loving crowd.

"The train started and we reached Waltham Station. At Waltham the Inspector in a moment of heat was guilty of a tactless gesture in that he repulsed

ed a notable person of Waltham who had lovingly carried fruit, etc. as a present for us. Our blood boiled and we stood four square to contest against it. By chance Mr. T. Prasad, Editor, the *Hindu*, happened to be there and he reproved the Inspector. Things were thus smoothed.

"At Waltham, a Madras Inspector of Police took charge of convicts and the first thing that he did was that he would not allow any one of us to get out of the carriage to answer the call of nature. All the way from Waltham to Rajmundry, we were hard put to it on this account. At Rajmundry, however, we had an revenge.

"From Rajmundry we convicts were to be sent to different stations in small batches and at Rajmundry we had to be sorted out, to be arranged in batches. The Police Inspector called out our names and we would not answer. There was a conspiracy of silence. They did not know our names and we would not tell them our names. It was an amusing comedy for us and for the troop of holders while it was a grim tragedy for the police officials.

"As the wondering amused crowd watched these things, one of us explained to them in English how the European Police Inspector had badgered us in the way and had been callous enough regarding our answering the call of nature. At this there were loud cries of 'Shame Shame' on all sides and the police officials hung their heads in shame and dismay.

"At last some of the more responsible authorities at

Rajmundry unlocked our carriage and gave us full permission to attend to the call of nature. Thus ended this episode."

(contd. on page 8)

THE ALL-PERVADING GOD

He is All-in-All

(By S. Raghubar Singh, Editor, The Atom Science, Columbia.)

Climbing to the climax of spiritual advancement, Sri Krishna exclaimed, "I am He." This is the last stage of Vedantism, or "don't say" or "I am the Truth", "I am God" was the shout of Musaic and of so many of the sages. On the other hand, Chao, Mohammed, Kabir and many other great-souled people said, "That Art Thou".

Both the statements "I am He"—and "That Art Thou", are seemingly contradictory, but in reality, they are two different ways of stating the same truth.

I hold that both these ways are incomplete. Both have a snag in them and are liable to mislead a seeker after Truth. When the Devotee is at-one with God, he sees through the incapacity and imperfection of both the statements. At the last stage, there is neither, "I am He", nor "That Art Thou", but something indescribable, ineffable, unsearchable. It baffles speech.

Realisation of Truth is a personal, spiritual experience, whose best description would not be imperfect. A description could be possible only, if and till the describer and the thing described are two separate entities, two distinct things. But when the describer and the thing described blend with each other, and are one a living description is not of the question Who will describe and whom?

All the attributes of Truth that are described are attributes at descriptions but they fall short of and lag behind the crowning peak of Truth. Those attributes could not be a perfect portrayal of Truth. Here are some relevant quotations from the Sacred Book on the subject:

"He is beyond description,
You could know Him
If He were a separate entity"
(Guru Arjan—Gauri)

"He cannot be measured up,
He cannot be read up,
He is beyond our judging,
We could measure Him up,
If He were other than ourselves"
(Guru Arjan—Gauri)

"There is none but He,
How could we separate Him?"

"I" and "Thou" are relative terms, "I" could be only if there were "Thou" or "You" and vice versa but at present is a stage, of which the stages of "I" and "Thou" fall short.

With at-one-ment the whole creation, the whole universe is realised as emanating from, sustained by, and as diverse forms of one. This stage is distant from that of "I" and "Thou". The aptest description of this stage would be "All-in-All" or "One Alone".

"He is the Teacher and He is the learner,
Nanak's God is All-in-All,
One Alone"
(Guru Arjan—Gauri)

"He is omnipresent, pervading all,
He is transcendent, out of time,
He is forever complete, in himself,
One alone, all-in-all,
He created creation out of Himself
He manifests in Himself"
(Sukhman Sahib)

"He is the existing state,
He is the nothing,
He is who sees things,
He is who understands things,
He is the Merchant,
He is All-in-All"
(Guru Nanak—Sohi)

An average person, after his study of the Vedant and adoption of the slogan and catch-phrase of "I am He" may go astray. His soul may be assimilated and internalised. Instead of the exaltation of his sense of selfhood, it may blaze forth.

I was told by a friend of a person who constantly chanted "Sohi"—"I am He", that he felt like bursting. He seemed to be on fire, so full was he of restlessness and he was reported to be fed up with it. The "I" of Sri Krishna symbolises the soul of our soul, the Universal soul, a truth whose actual realisation is by no means a child's play. If and when the soul realises the Supreme Soul, then and not till then, "I am He" and "That Art Thou", would mean the same Universal Soul, which is the source of all creation. But before the dawn of this consciousness the cry of "I am He" would ever lead us astray.

Selfhood is in us in full swing when we begin to seek after God and little by little the selfhood thins away and after a long process of self-discipline, we attain to the stage of perfection. The cry of "I am He" would constantly create illusions and block the path of spiritual progress.

He who shouts "I am He", does more often than not love himself much more intensely than he loves others. And this "I-ness" hampers spiritual progress immensely.

As the philosophy of "I am He" may satisfy one intellectually, but is likely to mislead him spiritually. Similarly, "That Art Thou" may mislead a seeker after

Truth. He who ardently believes in it, at times begins to believe that he himself is a mere zero. When you believe yourself to be a zero, the soul and body are inevitably enthralled, so much so the mind fails to control the mind.

I have seen many victims of the illusion, who fancied that they were no more than cyphers. Their self-confidence was at a low ebb, frequently they suffered, their business suffered.

Victims of this illusion become traitors and cowards. They fail to perform their duties with care and propriety. In believe that you are not is a degenerative and degenerating as the concept, "I am He", which tends to fill us with selfhood. Kabir's views on this point are most illuminating—

"Be very lowly like a field
on the roadside,
Discard all my pride,
Such a devotee realises God."

"But what, if you are a
puffed up
A puff-bellows heeds the weather,
And comes pain."

"Be thou lowly like dust,
Such must be a Devotee."

"What if thou art like unto dust,
Dust flies about and covers our
shoes,
And comes pain."

"Be thou like water,
Such must be a servant of
God."

"What if you are like water?
Water is so fickle,
It is hot and cold by turns
A servant of God must not be
like this."

A Devotee must be like God Himself

"God and the servant of God
Are both alike,
There is no difference between
the two;
As a wave emerges from water
And again merges into it,
So does the soul grow at one
with God."

Thanks to Bhaid Vir Singh, who unaided my difficulty, when I believed myself to be a cypher. His words were so apt and meaningful, "It is not for a true Sikh to be a zero, by degrees he must rise to be God." These words were in consonance with the sacred Word and my own intuitive urge. From that day, my devotional adoration of God was ever on the up-grade and my spiritual growth was wondrous. After discussing

things with those who believe, "I am He" and those who said, "That Art Thou", I have arrived at the following conclusions—

(1) Both the statements express the same truth.

(2) The same truth underlies the two statements, if only their deeper meaning is understood and even as they do not perfectly or oppositely state the whole truth.

(3) For a new seeker after Truth both the statements may prove misleading.

(4) God is Perfect Truth is to let anyone the power of words lost to us. "I am He" or "All-in-All" is a more expedient way of stating the Truth.

A Devotee must always seek refuge in Satnam in Naam. Then his inner consciousness will ever guide and inspire him, according to the exigencies of the various situations and in course of time help him climb those heavenly heights where he would find a philosophies like so many roads leading to Truth. He would ever then and respect them all and then rising above them all would realise God and attain to at-one-ment with Him, and find his labours, and devotion covered with an shining crown of glory, and blessed with unending bliss.

Ludhiana Akali M. L. A's set up to Board Safeguard Sikhs in Services

Ludhiana.—It was decided to set up a board to safeguard the interests of and ensure protection to the Sikhs in services, at a meeting of the newly elected representatives from the district on the Akali ticket.

A meeting of all the Akali M. L. A's has been called at Ludhiana on February 17 at S. Wazir Singh's residence to formally approve of the formation, personnel and the constitution of the Board.

Discussion also took place on the ways and means to check the growing frustration among the Sikh masses due to the manipulated successes of the Congress and the engineered reverses of the Akali Dal in the recent general election.

S. Wazir Singh M. L. A. President.

The Idea of the Panth in Practice

(Contd. from page 7)
a fact that any affair in which Government interferes becomes political?

Then how can the Government enforce the ruling that no communal organisation should be permitted to engage in any activity other than those essential for the religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community?

S. GIAN SINGH RAREWALA:

True Guide, Philosopher and friend of the People

(By Prinaful Tgo Singh, Patiala.)

We print below the life sketch of S. Gian Singh Rarewala, a former Chief Minister of Punjab, who was unanimously elected the leader of the Panthic Party in Punjab State Legislature. [Ed. Spokesman].

S. Gian Singh is connected with the historic family of Sardar Rattan Singh Bhaggo, the first great historian of the Panth, who himself was the grandson of Bhai Mehtab Singh of Miran Kot, a maker of Sikh history. His wife comes from the family of Bhai Bidhi Chand the greatest dynamic personality among the Sikhs of Guru Hargobind.

S. Gian Singh was born in 1891, the year when the Chief Khalsa Diwan was founded and S. Sander Singh Majithia came to the fore as Secretary of the Khalsa College Amritsar. His father, S. Rattan Singh, was a Rait of Rara, Tehsil Payal, District Fatehgarh Sahib in the Pepsu.

He spent his childhood with his mother's family in the village of Bharnala. He did not enjoy any amenities of a rich family. He had daily to walk seven miles on foot from Bharnala to Samrala to attend his school.

In 1916, he passed the Matriculation Examination from the Model High School, Patiala, and joined the Mahendra College, Patiala, from where he took the B. A. degree.

While at college he showed the beginnings of his future career. He founded the Guru Nanak Club which maintains a Gurdwara in the Hostel and celebrates Gurburbs to the College. He also started the Khalsa Youngmen's Association which electrified the Sikh youth with religious fervour and love of the mother-tongue.

There began the custom of holding Kavi Darbars and other literary meetings which promoted the cause of Punjabi. The success of these functions gave a strong impetus to a literary movement in the Punjab, when Punjabi Sabhas sprang up in the main cities and Kavi Darbars came to be held in Amritsar, Lahore and Delhi chiefly under the patronage of Patiala.

Gian Singh was about to go for further studies in England, when events occurred in the Punjab which did not allow him to go abroad. But he got opportunities of gaining practical experience in various capacities. He was appointed a 1st class Magistrate in Patiala in 1924 B.E. and a Deputy Commissioner in 1930 B.E. Those were the days of Nawab Liaquat Hayat Khan and Dewan Daya Kishan Kaul who did not like Sikh tendencies

to grow in the State. S. Gian Singh's activities were looked upon as dangerous and he was transferred to Naraul, which was (and still is) a sort of penal settlement reserved for all those officers who came in for punishment for not toeing the line.

S. Gian Singh, however, was able to make a strong impression there in his favour and the people during his stay of three years came to look upon him as they still do as their friend and patron. He became Excise Commissioner of the Patiala State and then its Revenue Commissioner.

Liaquat Hayat, however, had never forgiven his independence of spirit and he wreaked his vengeance. S. Gian Singh was demoted as District and Sessions Judge, but his ability again restored him to the position of Revenue Commissioner.

Although he had passed no examination in law, he had made a deep study of it on his own account. S. B. Mehtab Singh during one of his visits to S. Gian Singh's court had been so much impressed by his ability and legal acumen that he had put in a strong word for him with His late Highness. When the new Maharaja came to the gaddi, S. Gian Singh was made a Judge of the Patiala High Court.

Soon after he was elected President of the Singh Sabha of Patiala, which had been fast deteriorating since the death of the great stalwart, Sant Gurbaksh Singh. S. Gian Singh got new life into it and under his inspiring and stimulating guidance the Sabha was able to do tremendous work in connection with the Census of 1941.

It was an uphill task to assert the claims of Punjabis against the established position of English and Urdu. A grand

Kavi Darbar was held under the presidency of His Highness, Maharaja Yadavendra Singh, who was requested in an address to create a Punjabi Section in the Education Department. This move was successful and a Punjabi Section was organized, which later on in 1948 became a separate Punjabi Department.

S. Bhagat Singh, Sessions Judge, was encouraged to write a Punjabi Dictionary of Law, which he submitted in 1949 and is to be published by the Punjabi Department.

In 1948 S. Gian Singh became Chief Minister in the new set-up of things under the Patiala Union, in the formation of which he had much to do. This position he continued to occupy during all the changes that the Ministry had gone through.

As Chief Minister he was responsible for the following creditable measures:

(1) Formation of the Punjabi Department, with a budget of 3 lakhs a year.

(2) Creation of a separate Department for the benefit of the Depressed Classes, with a budget of 5 lakhs a year to be spent on the education and social uplift of these classes with the advice of a Board consisting of their own representatives.

(3) Integration of all the services of the Union.

(4) Through his efforts as Revenue and Agriculture Minister the deficit budget has been turned into a surplus budget and the Union is made only surplus area so far as the production of food grains is concerned. It supplies tons of grain to the deficit areas all over India.

(5) As Minister in charge of Education he not only started and popularized the idea of having a University in Pepsu, but took practical steps in organizing a representative University Committee which formulated a scheme waiting in nothing but a formal Act to be passed for its inauguration.



S. Gian Singh possesses an outstanding personality, loved and honoured, trusted and owned by all sections of the people, Hindus and Muslims as well as Sikhs. This is due to this unique character.

He has exceptionally kept himself unaffected by his surroundings. He is pure and big-minded. He has never touched wine, which is a great thing in the midst of wine-bibbing Patiala. His private life is unspiced and chaste, like his dress which is always spick and span. He is a gentleman in every sense of the word. He lives a secluded life, and nobody can be too familiar with him. Still what can be said objectively is that he is deeply religious.

He keeps his own counsel and is hard to be influenced, but there are certain influences which even he cannot avoid. He is deeply read in Sikh history (which he once designed to write but other engagements drew his attention away).

The personality of Guru Govind Singh has always swayed him. He is usually not a lachrymose man, but when reading or talking about the Tenth Guru, as the pre-eminent hero of his land his eyes often get wet. At such moments he bursts out: "This is the land which has received the impress of Guru Govind Singh's charter and the echoes of its horns falling on the rocks and sandy deserts of Bharnala. Look at the towering banners fluttering over the places hallowed by the Guru's visits. Can you imagine such a free land to be governed by any strangers, strangers to the Guru's Sikhs?" He believes in the great destiny of Malwa and has completely identified himself with it.

He never starts his day, work without offering a prayer.

(Contd. on page 12)

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Letters to the Editor.

It is not necessary that the policy of the paper should conform with the views expressed here by the writers. This column expresses the views of the readers only.

The "Nationalist Sikhs"

Sir.—It is painful to note that some of our so-called Sikh Nationalists have thrown their lot with the Congress which has miserably failed to fulfil her past promises with the Sikhs who cheerfully laid down their lives for the achievement of freedom of the motherland.

For the information of these "Nationalists" I want to produce the lines of that Resolution in which the Congress promised that she would not accept any constitution for India which would be unacceptable to the Sikhs. The Resolution runs as follows:—

"The Congress believing that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, the Moslems and other minorities in general had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of this question, Congress assures the Sikhs, the Moslems and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

(*Nation's Voice* by C.R. Rajagopalachariar para 28.)

The misdeeds of the past four years of the Congress Government make it crystal clear that the Congress has forgotten all its past promises in a fit of power intoxication and is leaving no stone unturned to crush the Sikhs in all walks of life.

I believe that the end of all our grievances lies in the formation of Punjabi-Speaking Province.

The Congress Government and the other so-called Hindu leaders are opposing our this legitimate and democratic demand on the grounds that no such province can be formed on India's western border. Sometimes they do not even hesitate to call it *Khalistan* or *Sikh State*.

It would be worth while to note here that the establishment of a Punjabi-Speaking Province is neither *Khalistan* nor *Sikh State* but the re-distribution of Punjab and Pepsu on purely linguistic basis.

If we study the constitutions of various democratic countries of the world, especially of U.S.S.R., we find that there are about sixteen Republics in the Soviet Union and each of these Union Republics reserves the right to secede from the Soviet Union. The reservation of this right clearly shows that the Republics constituting the Soviet Union have united on a truly voluntary basis.

In this connection I also want to mention that in all the organs and institutions of the Soviet State, higher or local, official business is transacted in the native language and there is not the slightest oppression nor the slightest injustice perpetrated on any national minority.

In the light of above facts there is no harm in the establishment of Punjabi-Speaking Province where the official business will be transacted in the Punjabi.

In the and I appeal to the Nationalist Sikhs to withdraw immediately from the Congress, join the Shromani Akali Dal, the sole representative organization of the Sikhs, and thus strengthen the hands of Sirhan Master Tara Singh for the protection of the Sikh rights.

Congress has no faith upon you. Then why are you supporting it? It is only using you as a tool to crush the rest of your brethren.

Let us join together, and gird up our loins to fight the common-nalism of majority.

Jammu. Tirok Singh

Hollywood Star to Pose Sikh

Sir.—I request you to publish my opinion with regard to the report in the Republic issue of "the Modern Times", Delhi, dated the January 27, 1952, under the heading "Hollywood star to pose Sikh":—

The filming of Sikh heroes and leaders has been a subject of controversy for over a decade. I express my disapproval of such filming on the following reasons:—

1. That the filming of Sikh leaders and the playing of roles of Sikhs by Sikhs or non-Sikhs is likely to create discontent among the Sikhs and bring the Sikhs into ridicule.

2. That a non-Sikh cannot be expected to show the same regard, sentiment and love for Sikhism as a Sikh. It is quite likely that the Sikh symbols like the *Kachas* may become a target of criticism and a butt of laughter.

3. That Sikhism is opposed to Sikhs either taking parts in or witnessing films. Guru Govind Singh has said: "For a man of God it is a shame that he should engage himself in acting".

4. Moreover, the acting of the role of a Sikh by a person like Caesar Rodney, who has no knowledge of the background of Sikhism, will be something like a round peg in a square hole.

I hope you will take Sikh leaders into confidence and

Book Review

Burma Retreat

By Major Bishan Singh

Major Bishan Singh has given a graphic account of the British retreat from Burma pursued by the Japanese. The British were unprepared for the onslaught and were caught napping. The British General who saved an army of 20,000 soldiers, by his strategic retreat, undoubtedly performed an eminent military feat. At times, there are defeats more glorious than victories.

Here are some of the passages which are as informative as they are gripping:—

"We had now reached Pang-soo Faw, over 4000 feet above the sea level on the boundary line between Burma and India. On entry into Indian territory, there was a joy that one could hardly express in words. As many Sikhs as I could see, raised their national cry of *Sat Sri Akal* and embraced each other. While shouts of 'BHARAT MATA KI JAI'—Hail to Mother India—could be heard all round. We had reached the Indian soil. Was it true? Yes, it was true, a long dream becoming a reality. Our hopes were at long last realized. Yes, we had reached the Indian soil and now did not mind sleeping for ever in her

organise public opinion on the subject.

Govind Singh, Principal, Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jullandhar.

Rejoinder to Shree Sachdeva

Sir.—Reference Chief Secretary Mr. Sachdeva's statement in the Tribune dated 30-1-52. I wish to approach your honour with the following correct and proper information:

All efforts have been made by us to compromise with the administration, and not to prolong the scheme of *Bhalra*, and Kangal Headworks—a work which is of extreme importance to the whole of India. But S. Sarop Singh, Chief Engineer, is not yet even inclined to consider our demands.

We have not been told as to where does the hitch be with S. Sarop Singh or Sh. Sachdeva? The wages of workmen are as they were, and our strike is gaining strength day by day.

Kuldip Singh
General Secretary
Government Central Workshops
Labour Union, Amritsar

A Correction

Sir.—In your leaderette "An Memorial" in the issue dated 23rd January, 52, Baba Gurdit Singh and Baba Gurmukh Singh have been confounded together.

As far I have heard, the leader of *Budge-Budge* Ghat tragedy was Baba Gurdit Singh and not Baba Gurbac Singh.

Ajit Singh
(Note: We agree. The readers may kindly read Baba Gurdit Singh in place of Baba Gurmukh Singh. Ed. Spokesman)

bosom. We were not afraid of Death—we were not afraid of climbing Mt. Everest. New hopes—new lease of life, new dreams of reaching home and meeting old friends and relatives after an absence of nearly nine years. Oh, what a train of thoughts and ideas all crowded together. In this fever I remember a number of British officers who came and embraced me and heartily congratulated me and each other on safe arrival on Indian soil.

"After some rest, people were despatched in parties to the next disposal centre, which in our case was Lucknow. And so on to Rawalpindi, my dear home, with hopes that brought fresh life in a body that had lost 36 pounds of weight during the trek.

"Why did this tragedy occur, this tragedy of Hukawng trek, or of the trek to India by various routes? The simplest answer is that we were NOT prepared for it. No one believed that Burma would or could really be invaded. Our Secret Service information was not up to the mark, our defences were really nil, except what nature had provided. And too much reliance had been placed on these. The Army was only a new born baby with little training and insufficient equipment. Confidence was lacking and hence there could not have been much offensive spirit. The events had moved so fast and the spirit of defeatism was so apparent, that General Alexander's main strategy was to arrange for gradual retreat by delayed fighting action, and thus try to save the Army, that was otherwise doomed. Burma public opinion was really never mobilised, and hence all sorts of rumours found easy access in all quarters. The Indo-Burma land route was not taken in hand, possibly for economic or political reasons. What a change of situation it would have meant, if either road or rail link had been at the disposal of the authorities and the military commanders!

"During the period of the campaign the bombing of a town or even the news of anticipated attack brought complete chaos of life, and the civil administration which essentially depended on the lower grade and manual staff for its proper functioning, was not unaturally showing signs of disintegration. This was bound to be so, as a people not trained in the art of defence nor accustomed to his type of war, were taken by surprise, so that for them leaving the towns and seeking safety in the jungles was the only hope. The confusion it caused, can be judged only by those people who witnessed these 'Preliminary Evacuations'. During this period the rif-raffs had the upper hand and the news of looting, arson, killing of poor innocent people were beginning as we were retreating further north".
Balwant Singh.

S. Gian Singh Rarewala:*(contd. from page 9)*

which he mutters to himself underbreath. The words most frequently stressed in his prayer are:

"Bring me, O Lord, into the fellowship of those men of love, with whom I may dwell upon Thy Name."

And it has been given to him from his youth to be in touch with only such like Sant Wamra Singh of Bhareen, Sant Attar Singh of Mastwana, Sant Gurbaksh Singh of Patiala and Sant Randhir Singh. It was his devotion to saintly men that led him to bring Sant Ichar Singh to his village Rara and to establish his ashram on his own land.

It is, however, only the good points of these saints that he shares. He keeps his third eye of Shiva always open. He does not believe in standing out from worldly duty or in unapproachability. His cooks have been mostly drawn from the so-called unapproachable classes. He cares very much for his worldly duties.

He always stood for justice and fair-play. This is his weakness as well as his strength. He has never used his influence to give undue advantage to his supporters or to go out of his way to persecute his enemies. He is incorruptible. No fear or favour can make him change his views or deviate from the path of justice. Once acting as a District Magistrate he gave his decision against certain landlord-relations of the Ruler—and in favour of poor tenants. He took an initiative in the abolition of landlordism by fixing the shares of landlords and tenants in the ratio of 2 to 3. He also made personal sacrifices to further this and by giving up his own share as landlord in his land at Rara to his tenants, in the hope that other landlords would follow his example.

Himself being highly cultured and a scholar of English, Persian, Urdu and Punjabi, he works day and night to promote the cultural interests of the people. For this purpose he has been collecting men of culture from all sides and publicly honouring them for their excellence in art and literature. In some cases he has rendered monetary help to them for the publication of their works.

Such an all-round development of character has made him a guide, philosopher and friend to his people.

The Diabolical Plan*(contd. from page 4)*

Only to stifle the voice of democratic and constitutional opposition and not the vagaries of the party in power even when they are pregnant with disastrous tragedy? If the situation deteriorates in Punjab, the responsibility will be entirely of the Congress and the Government through the victims will be the innocent people of the State.

The Screen World

Mehboob Productions "Aan"

Aan, Mehboob's marathon in Motion Picture has been passed by the censors and Mr. and Mrs. Mehboob have left for London to get its technical copies printed.

Starring Dulip Kumar, the blue-eyed Nawab, frey new comer Nadira, and the unforgettable Prem Nath, it is a picture that has to be seen to be believed. It is being

Governor's Rules Saved Congress in Punjab*(Continued from page 1)*

I can prove that without damaging the seal the box could be opened. In spite of the decision that the Electoral Officer of the Punjab has taken recently, if a ballot box is brought here I can open it without injuring the paper seal.

We are advised that the defeated candidates or parties should go to the election tribunals, but my position is that if in fact this House is convinced that there was no sanctity about this seal and it could be opened, and if it is also convinced that there have been cases of such malpractices and irregularities, then we should not stop here and wait for the results of those election petitions. That would be a wastage of the money of this country.

I think it is only proper that a commission should be appointed to sift out and enquire into the allegations and if it is proved that there was such a tampering of the boxes and other malpractices indulged in, then decisions should be ordered de novo at least in that unhappy province where the Governor's rule is prevalent.

released through Mys Indira Films Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Sabharwal's "Ashiana"

More than half the film has been completed and all the songs, which are no less than popular hits, have been recorded and will be available in the market soon.

The outdoor scenes, especially the coverage of the Dussehra Festival of Kulu, the valley of gods, are simply bewitching.

Ashiana is featuring Raj Kapoor and Nargis.

Most of the songs, written by Rajindra Krishna, have been recorded by the music Director Madan Mohan.

Sheetal Movies' "Nirmohi"

Its producers seem to have taken the name of their maiden picture "Nirmohi" pretty seriously. The way they are spending their valuable time and money over it, without even being tempted about the its possible returns does not fail to indicate that to any observer.

The picture features Naoran, Sajjan, Raj Mehra, Amar Nath. Madan Mohan is giving music.

Mis R. S. Films have completed the arrangements of its release in the East Punjab circuit.

Verma Films, "Parbat"

Dedicated to the "honour of woman, the most sacred trust of man," "Parbat", an exciting thriller, featuring Prem Nath, Naoran, Vilhas, Parvina, E. N. Singh and others is ready for release.

Mys National Finance of India Ltd are releasing it very shortly.

The young director O. P.

Datta has done his level best to make it a box-office hit and Rajinder Krishna's songs and N. Shankar Vijay Krishan's music have made it an absolute certainty.

Bhagwan's "Actor"

In spite of the fact that it is a comedy, this film deals with the serious social problems of life rather gravely.

If its music is memorable, its dances are simply bewitching.

Old-timers like evergreen Romola, lovable Bhagwan and clownish Sonder play the leading role.

It is being released through Hari Har and Sons, Film Distributors, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Paul Zila's "Zalzala"

Paul Zila must be congratulated for undertaking and completing the uphill task of adaptation of Gurudev Tagore's famous novel *Char Adhyai* which dealt with the terrorist movement of the young India of the thirties.

The screen play is written by master-craftsman, Mr. Krishan Chandra, and the enchanting tunes have been provided by Panjabi Mulkian.

Kishore Saba, Day Anand, Gita Bali, who play the leading role, are supported by new comers like Raji and Jagdev.

It has been released through Upper India Pictures Ltd, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Nigaristan's "Moti Mahal"

It is film of multiple qualities of love and romance, intrigue and conspiracy, mystery and suspense, hopes and fears, and the entire atmosphere is soaked in noble sentiments and deep feelings.

It is directed by tireless Ravinder Dave and the music is given by Hans Raj Behl. The film features amongst others, Surisya, Jewan and Baby Tabassum.

It is being released by Kanwal Parkash Pictures, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

